1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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Two teachers, a young man and a young woman: Both are natives, of distinctly *correcto* families, and both were educated in the city. Both wear city clothes all the time and have no other specialty but teaching.

The priest should be mentioned, although during the period of investigation there was no priest officiating in Tepoztlán, as there was not elsewhere in Mexico. He was a man of *correcto* family, well educated in the city.

Five storekeepers: These are men of some capital. They have small shops on the *plaza*. On the whole they devote their time to trade. Each makes frequent trips to Mexico City to buy goods. Most become tradespeople on a small scale or minor commercial employees in Mexico City during the revolution; it does not appear that any one of them inherited the business. Besides these five storekeepers there are two young men who flavor and charge water and bottle the result for local sale. These men have considerable communication with the city.

Two corn-factors: These men buy the locally produced surplus maize, arrange for its shipment to Mexico City, and there sell it wholesale.

Three butchers: Their shops are on the *plaza*. The meat is butchered locally.

Two shoemakers: One, a cripple, learned his trade from an earlier shoemaker in Tepoztlán; the other learned it in Mexico City.

Three carpenters: One man has a shop on the *plaza;* the others work in their homes. Tools are simple and few, all of European pattern. These men make furniture, doors, and candlesticks for the churches, also coffins and saddles. Information is lacking as to where each learned his trade.

Four masons: These men lay brick floors, and build walls and water tanks, occasional columns and porticoes on the better

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484 823 [464] purposes, religious pilgrimages, or political reasons. Tepoztecans know what towns are to the north of the state of Morelos and have a pretty good notion of the products produced in the various parts of the state. Their work on haciendas to the south has also given them some familiarity with this part of the state. Some Tepoztecans are related by ties of marriage and *compadrazgo* with families in other parts of the state of Morelos.

619 648 There is an increasing identification of Tepoztecans with the Mexican nation and with the state of Morelos. The factors which relate the villagers to these larger entities are cultural, administrative, religious, political, and economic.

CULTURAL FACTORS

619 872 Perhaps the most important and decisive of the several cultural factors—the school, cultural missions, books and newspapers, the literacy campaign, and the movies—which tend to make for the formation of a sentiment of *mexicanidad* or Mexican nationalism is the school, where the younger generation learn about the history, geography, and economy of the country as a whole, and where a conscious effort is made to instill love of country.

THE SCHOOL

[648] The school became more effective after the early twenties when the schools of the state of Morelos were federalized by means of a special agreement between the state and the nation. This led to the standardization of texts and teaching methods. But more important, the school personnel was recruited from various parts of [875] Mexico rather than, as formerly, only from the state of Morelos. Since that time, Tepoztlán has had teachers from Yucatán, Jalisco, Nuevo León, and many other states. These teachers have different backgrounds and expose the children to the customs and sentiments of their respective regions. Thus, in the programs organized in the school, pupils have had the opportunity of seeing teachers dance the *jarabe tapatío*, the *raspa veracruzana*, and the *jarana yucateca*.

Squadron 201, the new school building named after a squadron of Mexican aviators who fought in the Philippines in World War II, stands as a symbol of *mexicanidad* to Tepoztecans. The school was constructed with national funds upon the direct order of President Avila Camacho in response to the request of a Tepoztecan who was a member of Squadron 201. Upon the return of the squadron [729] to Mexico, President Camacho organized a public reception and at this time invited each member to ask for what he desired. The majority of the men asked [554] for subsidies for their families, but Angel Bocanegra asked for a school for his village. Because of this he has become a great hero in the village, and among the [186] younger generation has taken the place of the older regional and village heroes of the Revolution.

The school not only stimulates Mexican nationalism, but is also a powerful factor in developing the feeling of being a Morelense. The school teaches the geography and economy of the state in some detail. The text on the geography of

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585 before the local municipal authorities in the same clothing they wear daily. They obtain a marriage certificate for which they pay a fee which varies with the economic status and political connections of the groom. Some pay as little as five or ten pesos; others pay as much as fifty pesos. After they get their marriage certificate [264] the couple may go to the home of the groom where chocolate, bread, wine, and *poncha* may be served. However, the simplicity of the civil marriage is in sharp contrast with the elaborate and expensive preparations for the church marriage.[8]

582 Less than a generation ago, girls commonly married between the age of twelve and fifteen and boys anywhere from sixteen to thirty, but most often in their middle and late twenties. Today there is a definite trend toward later marriage for girls and earlier marriage for boys. An analysis of 133 Tepoztlán marriages recorded in the municipio marriage registry from 1941 to 1946, inclusive, reveals that most girls marry between fifteen and seventeen and most boys between nineteen and twenty. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 13. Frequency Distribution of Age of Marriage for Men and Women in 133 Cases Recorded During 1941-1946, Inclusive.

Age	No. of Men	No. of Women	Age	No. of Men	No. of Women
12	0	1	26	2	2
13	0	0	27	1	1
14	0	5	28	2	0
15	0	22	29	3	1
16	0	28	30	2	3
17	8	27	31	0	0
18	11	15	32	1	2
19	17	11	33	1	0
20	27	1	34	2	0
21	10	0	35	3	0
22	11	4	36	3	0
23	9	3	37	3	0
24	4	0	38	2	0
25	4	0	39	0	0
			40	1	0

Eighty per cent of the women and twenty-seven per cent of the men married at nineteen or earlier, whereas only ten per cent of the women and fifty-four per cent of the men married in their twenties. There are many more marriages of men than women in their thirties and forties. The few women who marry after twenty-nine represent cases of second marriage. In the past a girl who was not married by the [589] time she was twenty had little chance of getting married; and it was said of such girls, "She might as well enter a convent," and "She is ready to dress saints." More [875] and more girls are delaying marriage in order to go through secondary school and become teachers. It is interesting to note that many of the Tepoztecan school-

[8] In the past there were two stages in the civil marriage, the *presentación* and the actual marriage.

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teachers in the village who are now in their early twenties are still unmarried and are already considered "old maids." 582

A study of the age difference between spouses in the 133 couples mentioned above showed that the husband was older than the wife in all but three cases. In one of these cases the husband and wife were of the same age, and in the other two the wives were one and six years older than the husbands. Table 14 shows the distribution of the age differences between spouses in which the husbands were older. [875] [589]

TABLE 14. Age Differences Between Husbands and Wives, 1944

Age Difference (in years)	No. of Cases
1	20
2	13
3	24
4	15
5	11
6	15
7	11
8	3
9	5
10	2
11	1
12	2
13	1
14	1
15	2
16	0
17	1
18	1
19	1
20	4

The qualities looked for in a spouse vary considerably between boys and girls. In selecting a wife, boys generally choose a girl for romantic reasons, beauty, or personality. Girls tend to be more realistic about selecting a husband and will often refuse to marry a boy who is known to drink, chase women, be violent, or be lazy. However, status factors are very important in marriage. It is usual for boys to seek out a girl who is poorer and who has the same or less education, so that "the man can be the boss" and his family need not be ashamed before her. Tepoztecan boys tend to "respect" and avoid having affairs with girls from the more important and prosperous families, for fear of incurring reprisals from the parents of such girls. Girls, on the other hand, seek to improve their economic status with marriage, and it is rare for a girl to marry a man with less education. As a result of these attitudes, the daughters of the families in the upper economic group in the village have difficulty finding husbands. They tend to marry later, and to marry more educated men or men from the outside. Occasionally a wealthy girl in her late twenties will marry a boy poorer than herself rather than remain unmarried. 581 [836]

An analysis of twenty-five marriages that occurred in two of the smaller barrios

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The increase in the number of butchers (Fig. 18) parallels the greater consumption of meat in the village. An analysis of the municipio records indicates that the consumption of meat from 1931 to 1941 rose more than 130 per cent while the population increase was approximately 30 per cent. There are four meat stores, but meat is also sold in the open marketplace. There are no refrigeration facilities; the meat is hung on a line in the open air.

The number of teachers given in Table 19 refers to those Tepoztecans who are employed as teachers either in Tepoztlán or in other villages. Those now teaching

Fig. 17. A local bakery.

in Tepoztlán number fourteen in contrast with two teachers in 1926. There are now two schools, one in the center and the other in the barrio of Los Reyes.[5] The registration in the former at the present time is 611 and in the latter 61. Thus, from the "few score" children reported by Redfield in 1926 there is now a total registration of 672.[6]

Two other items in Table 19 deserve comment: the increase in barbers from five to fifteen and in corn merchants from two to thirteen. The former is another index of acculturation. Most men now visit the barber on an average of once a month. In the family budgets we have studied, the cost of haircuts for the male members of the household amounts to a sizeable sum during the year. There are three barber shops in the center, with modern barber chairs and equipment, and one each in the outlying barrios of San Sebastián and Los Reyes. The equipment

[5] The school in Los Reyes was built in 1931 through the initiative of the inhabitants of the small barrios.

[6] The average monthly attendance was 430.

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with warm oil of rosemary and violet are given to "heat" the womb. A woman who wishes to prevent conception takes "cold" medicines. A woman who wishes a child and cannot conceive may visit the Virgins of Chalma or Tlaltenango, who are believed to have special powers to grant the desire for children. There is a belief that if conception occurs during the full moon, the child will be strong, and married couples sometimes plan to have intercourse during this time.

The most common symptom of pregnancy is the cessation of menstruation. This is almost always true of a first pregnancy, but may not hold for subsequent pregnancies. Menstruation often does not occur for as long as one or two years after giving birth to a child. Since many women conceive during this period, they do not know that they are pregnant until they feel movement or other symptoms, such as nausea. Sometimes women do not become aware of pregnancy because they continue to menstruate for two or three months after conception. This condition is attributed to *los aires* or to weakness of the back.

When Tepoztecan girls married at a younger age than they do now, they were often ignorant of the signs of pregnancy. They would report the cessation of menstruation to the mother-in-law, who would explain its meaning. The girl's own mother would be advised, but the respect-relations and sense of shame between mother and daughter prevented much direct discussion. The young pregnant wife becomes dependent for advice and care upon her mother-in-law, who may keep the girl's mother informed if she wishes to do so. In later pregnancies, mothers and daughters are generally less inhibited in their behavior toward each other.

Pregnant women make every effort to conceal their condition by carefully covering themselves with their *rebozos*, both at home and in the street. When the pregnancy becomes very obvious, women keep to their homes and the more "careful" mothers remain seated as much as possible, so that their children will not take note of their condition. Women who are careless about concealing their condition are looked down upon. City women who walk in the street without *rebozos* to hide their pregnancy are regarded as particularly shameless. Once a city woman who did not wear a *rebozo* came to live in Tepoztlán during her pregnancy, but left shortly because no one would speak to her. Tepoztecans had ostracized her because she was "opening the eyes of their children." More recently Tepoztecans were aroused by the fact that one of the schoolteachers continued to attend school, although in an advanced stage of pregnancy. The school director was chastized, and the teacher was asked to resign.

When a woman knows she is pregnant she informs her mother-in-law, if residence is patrilocal, or her husband, and arrangements are made to hire a midwife. The cost of the midwife has risen, from about ten pesos in 1943 to about twenty pesos in 1948. Before the Revolution, midwives in Tepoztlán received as little as one and two pesos. The rise in price reflects the increasing urbanization of Tepoztlán, as well as the general rise in cost of living in recent years.[3]

[3] In Mitla, in the 1930's, midwives were paid 75 centavos for delivering a girl and one peso for a boy. See Parsons, *Mitla*, p. 78. In Tzintzuntzan, midwives received from 3 to 7 pesos in

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the forest resources sharply reduced charcoal production in the village and many families have thereby lost a traditional source of income. Some found work as agricultural laborers on the two or three gladiola farms that have been established in Tepoztlán; others have been employed by the nearby Y.M.C.A. Many more found work in Cuernavaca or as day laborers on road construction.

The changes in the occupational structure of the village have accentuated earlier trends. The number of nonagricultural occupations increased from 26 in 1944 to 33 in 1956 and the number of people engaged in these occupations rose from 273 to 565. This increase has been accompanied by greater specialization and a decline in the role of agriculture in the total economy. In 1944, approximately 70 percent of those engaged in nonagricultural occupations also farmed; in 1956, the comparable figure was only 25 percent! Today there is a much greater participation of women in the nonagricultural occupations than formerly. Women still predominate as teachers, *curanderos,* and corn merchants, but they now are also full-time tortilla makers, dressmakers, and hairdressers. Other new occupations in the village are those of tailor, *ciruela* merchant, and milk merchant. The increase in the number of teachers has been striking—from 21 in 1944 to 101 in 1956, an indication of the growth of a middle class in the village. Whereas formerly there was a shortage of teachers in the village, there is now a shortage of teaching jobs, and 70 Tepoztecans teach in rural schools outside of the village. Other occupations that have shown a large increase in numbers are: bus line employees, from 22 to 35; barbers, from 15 to 22; butchers, from 15 to 32; and storekeepers, from 20 to 64.

The distribution of people engaged in nonagricultural occupations by barrio shows an intensification of the older pattern of concentration in the larger central barrios: La Santísima, 27 percent; Santo Domingo, 25 percent; San Miguel, 23 percent; Santa Cruz, 11 percent; San Sebastian, 8 percent; Los Reyes, 5 percent; and San Pedro, 1 percent. Similarly, 85 percent of those engaged in the new occupations come from the three central barrios. The trend toward barrio differentiation of occupations, however, has been offset by a spread of services from the central plaza to the barrios. Each barrio now has its own corn mill and at least one store. Another interesting and symptomatic change has been the rise in the number of money lenders—from about 6 in 1944 to 18 in 1956. This reflects a much greater need for cash as well as an influx of wealth.

The only occupations that have shown a decline in the number of members since 1944 are those of carpenter, *curandero, chirimitero* (flute player), maguey fiber collector, and charcoal maker. The *huehuechiques* (ceremonial barrio officers) have completely disappeared, as I predicted in my earlier study. The *chirimiteros* are being replaced by modern secular musicians. As noted earlier, the decline in charcoal making was forced on the village by the federal authorities.

The most dramatic occupational change and one which has become a major new source of income to the village is the *bracero* movement. In 1948,

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fewer than thirty Tepoztecans were *braceros*—that is, temporary agricultural workers in the United States; by 1957, over six hundred men had been *braceros* for periods that varied from forty-five days to over a year. This occupational change has made for other great changes in the village. In 1943, Tepoztlán suffered from an acute land shortage. Now, because in many cases the *braceros* return to the village only to rest a few months before setting out for another period in the United States, it suffers from a shortage of manpower, and many *milpas* go unculivated. The *braceros* earn more in some months in the United States than they could earn in almost two years in the village, and many of them have invested their savings in improvements for their houses and in land and cattle. Many have brought home portable radios, mechanical toys, clothing, and cloth—the village now has four full-time tailors who are kept busy providing tailor-made pants for the villagers. Although the *bracero* movement has broadened the perspective of some Tepoztecans, who now greet American visitors with a few words of English, most of the *braceros* are isolated in work camps or on farms, speak no English, live on a Mexican diet, and on the whole learn little about the United States and its way of life. Very few learn agricultural skills that can be applied in the village.

Most of the *braceros* from Tepoztlán are young men between the ages of twenty and thirty. They come predominantly from the upper segments of the lower economic group (Group I) but also from the middle group II (see p. 37). Few come from the poorest families and fewer from the wealthier families of Group III. This is an interesting change from the pattern in the early forties when only individuals with political connections and with experience outside of the village became *braceros*. At that time most Tepoztecans feared to leave the village for a distant country or even to go to the government recruiting stations for *braceros* in Mexico City. With more education, the younger generation developed a greater readiness to explore the outside world and to dare the hazards of a long journey. The sudden spurt in *bracerismo* did not occur, however, until a school teacher in one of the outlying villages became a *bracero* recruiter (locally called *coyote*). He had been a *bracero* himself and knew how to make the necessary legal arrangements. Tepoztecan men paid him a fee in the hope that he would get them longer contracts and also jobs in California rather than in Texas or Arkansas. The fees, which the *coyote* purportedly shared with government authorities, ranged from 200 to 400 pesos depending on the length of time of work specified in the contract. Most of the villagers who signed up had to borrow from local money lenders at the usual high rate of interest but they had avoided having to deal directly with the authorities and so had found the courage to take the initial step.

The *bracero* movement has served as a partial though temporary solution of the agrarian problem in the village. Tepoztlán has become dependent on the United States economy. Were the United States suddenly to close its borders to Mexican *braceros*, there would probably be a crisis both in the village and in the nation.

Another important change in Tepoztecans is their greater readiness to sell their land. In 1943, it was difficult to find anyone in the village who would consider selling a housesite or an agricultural plot. For example, in 1942 a

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paper with some regularity and none of them were peasants. Magazine reading has increased, however. In 1956, about fifty villagers had magazine subscriptions. About half of these were for *Selecciones*, the Spanish version of the *Readers Digest;* others were for such publications as *Life, La Granja, La Tierra, La Sevilla.* Over a third of the subscriptions were held by teachers and most of the others by persons in nonagricultural occupations. The majority of the subscribers were under fifty, and reading was predominantly done by the men. Except for school teachers and some officials, few people owned books, but many children read comics.

Related to the developments noted above are changes in every stage of the life cycle, particularly the rearing of children. Again, most of the changes are found in the middle economic group, and the following discussion of the direction of change applies mainly to this group. Changes are occurring among the tradition-oriented members of the lower groups also, but at a much slower rate.

Women still prefer to give birth on a *petate* with the help of a midwife, but a doctor is often called in for difficult cases. Many young women are rejecting some of the "Indian" customs and cures of the midwives—the food taboos, for example, the use of smoke to help labor, and the wearing of the *huipil.* Magical practices like burying the first milk or throwing it over the roof are being discarded. Because more babies are being bottle-fed, the druggist now keeps a supply of baby bottles and nipples, as well as of formula mixtures. Young women feel less need to follow such customs as sweatbaths or the forty-day postpartum seclusion before the *sacamisa.*

A definite trend toward greater child-orientedness on the part of both parents is evident. Parents tend to be more permissive and more demonstratively affectionate with their young children. More fathers can be seen on the street carrying small children and a few help a little with the children at home. The swaddling of infants has been completely abandoned as "cruel" by some mothers. Parents indulge their children more, especially the first-born, and openly show their pride in their infants by buying them toys, shoes, and attractive clothing. This is in sharp contrast with the older attitude of guarding children from the attention of others through fear of the "evil eye." Younger and more educated parents punish more lightly, permit more play, and send their children to school for as long as possible. The period of adolescence is becoming longer and more clearcut, and the time when youths are expected to contribute to the support of the family is often delayed by years of study.

Arranged marriages have completely disappeared and more couples are marrying for love. Church weddings have become more elaborate and expensive and are patterned after those of the urban middle class. Newlyweds try to set up independent households immediately after marriage or as soon as it is economically feasible to avoid the problems of living with mothers-in-law. Some young wives work as school teachers or shopkeepers, but this is still unusual. More couples are resorting to legal divorce rather than mere separation or abandonment.

A noticeable change has occurred also among the educated middle group

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in attitudes and values and in the quality of interpersonal relations. It is too early to tell how deeply these changes have affected the ethos and character of the villagers, but all signs point in the direction of more profound changes to follow. In 1956, Tepoztecans seemed on the whole more outgoing and friendly and less bothered by the presence of outsiders. Children were noisier and smiled more; they were as apt to run toward as away from a stranger. Indeed, they begged tourists for centavos. Small groups of unchaperoned adolescent girls laughing and talking together were not unusual sights, and occasionally a village girl might be seen walking side by side with a boy in broad daylight. In general, the villagers were more accepting of their sophisticated members and provincialism seemed to be on the wane. There was more competition for jobs and scholarships and in general display.

That Tepoztecans have more drive and ambition for self-improvement is obvious. The young people are restless and have found the courage to leave the village to look for better opportunities. They are making greater demands on their parents for education, and they have more confidence in and more ability to cooperate with people outside the family over longer periods of time. Friendship not based on formal reciprocal relationships has become increasingly important; *compadrazgo* has assumed a new significance in providing connections and social advantages. Material success and a higher standard of living are consciously admired and worked for and the motivation to hide wealth is weaker. Respect has come to be based more and more on wealth and social status. Education imparts higher status; a young man or woman who has a teacher's certificate expects to be treated more respectfully by his or her elders. The middle class, especially, feel that status is also gained by discarding folk beliefs and practices and becoming more Catholic.

It is apparent, then, that Tepoztlán has made great strides ahead in the past fifteen years. The changes have been uneven, however, and not all the sectors of the population have equally benefited. Faced with limited agricultural resources, low yields, an absence of irrigation, and little prospect of solving their agricultural problems through mechanization, the villagers have by-passed their agrarian problem and have instead become dependent on new occupations and on jobs outside the village.

Most of the changes in the village are enjoyed by the middle economic group which even in 1943 had shown the most initiative and interest in raising its level of living. This group has doubled in size and now constitutes about 25 percent of the total population. Moreover, it is no longer merely an economic group; it is emerging rather as a true middle class, consisting of professionals, white-collar employees, and self-employed artisans and shopkeepers whose values and goals have come to differ substantially from those of the peasantry. The sharpening cleavage between the middle and lower economic groups, between peasant and nonpeasant, is perhaps the most far-reaching and significant change in the village.

Although the lower economic group is proportionately smaller than it was in 1943, it still constitutes the great majority of the villagers—approximately 65 percent. Our data suggest that this group has become even poorer, both because of inflation and because its members have been deprived of a tradi-